

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03

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TRSE-00 SAJ-01 USIE-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 CU-02 EB-07 AF-06

NSC-05 INRE-00 /089 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 728

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 246

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1013

BONN FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - EB 10-14

1. SUMMARY: THE CONFERENCE BEGAN TO MOVE FORWARD AGAIN
THIS WEEK, FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. SOVIET-
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ROMANIAN DIFFERENCE OVER PARAGRAPH 3 (ON REFRAINING
FROM USE OF ARMED FORCES) OF THE ROMANIAN NON-

USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL WERE RESOLVED, AND THIS PARAGRAPH MAY BE REGISTERED NEXT WEEK, THUS MAKING IT POSSIBLE TO REGISTER THE EIGHT PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION), WHICH HAS BEEN BLOCKED BY ROMANIA. SOVIETS AND ROMANIANS ALSO RESOLVED THEIR DISPUTE OVER BASKET II LANGUAGE REFERRING TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES" IN EUROPE, AND A NEW COMPROMISE TEXT WAS CIRCULATED WHICH MAY MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THIS ISSUE. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE FINISHED REMOVAL OF BRACKETS AND AGREED ON A SEQUENCE OF PARAGRAPHS FOR ITS FINAL DOCUMENT, THUS EFFECTIVELY COMPLETING ITS WORK. IN BASKET III, ONE PARAGRAPH OF TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS WAS INFORMALLY AGREED AND INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE FOR EDUCATION SECTION WAS "MENTALLY" REGISTERED, BUT SOVIETS ARE STILL TAKING VERY TOUGH STANCE ON A NUMBER OF KEY ISSUES. SOVIETS ALSO SHOWED NO REPEAT NO FLEXIBILITY ON MILITARY SECURITY. NEVERTHELESS, WITH MANY DELEGATIONS NOW CLEARLY INTERESTED IN MOVING TOWARD A CONCLUSION, FINNS TOOK INFORMAL SOUNDINGS ON POSSIBILITY OF SETTING UP A WORKING GROUP TO DISCUSS ARRANGEMENTS FOR STAGE III. AT WEEK'S END TURKISH CYPRIOT SEPARATIST DECLARATION REMINDED ALL THAT CYPRUS SITUATION COULD ALSO COMPLICATE AND PROLONG CSCE. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLE AND THIER IMPLIMENTATIONS--ALTHOUGH DRAFTING PROGRESSED ON SENTENCE OF COOPERATION PRINCIPLE CONCERNING OBJECTIVES OF COOPERATION, CONTROVERSY PERSISTS OVER REFERENCE TO INTERESTS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT. SOVIET-ROMANIAN DIFFERENCES ON PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL WERE RESOLVED, AND REGISTRATION OF A SLIGHTLY REVISED TEXT IS NOW POSSIBLE. GREEK AND TURKISH DELEGATIONS ARE AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS BUT REGISTRATION COULD TAKE PLACE NEXT TUESDAY. THIS WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY US AND ALLIES RESERVATIONS OF THEIR RIGHT TO REVERT TO THIS TEXT IN LIGHT OF FINAL VERSION OF THE PRINCIPLES DECLARATION (I.E., TO REOPEN TEXT OF PARA 3 IF AN
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ADEQUATE QUADRIpartite RIGHTS (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE PROVES NON-NEGOTIABLE). REGISTRATION OF ROMANIAN PARA 3 SHOULD BE FOLLOWED BY REGISTRATION OF THE EIGHTH PRINCIPLE (SELF-DETERMINATION). HOWEVER, NEUTRALS REMAIN ADAMENTLY OPPOSED TO QRR TEXT TABLED BY FRENCH LAST DECEMBER AND INSIST THAT IT EITHER BE AMENDED EXTENSIVELY OR ISSUED AS A SEPARATE QUADRIpartite DECLARATION--AN APPROACH UNACCEPTABLE TO BOTH THE FRG AND THE SOVIETS. MEANWHILE, SWISS HAVE INFORMALLY CIRCULATED A COMPROMISE SOLUTION FOR DEALING WITH

THEIR PROPOSAL FOR A SYSTEM FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. THEIR COMPROMISE ENVISAGES A FUTURE MEETING OF EXPERTS BASED ON THEIR PROPOSAL BUT ALLOWING FOR "OTHER IDEAS", THUS LEAVING ROOM FOR SOVIETS TO ADVOCATE THE NON-COMPULSORY SYSTEM THEY PREFER.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--UNEXPECTED DUTCH PROPOSAL IN FEBRUARY 7 NAC TO ETS AN AGREED EAST-WEST QUOTA FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATIONS OF MANEUVERS, AND TO ADJUST CBM PARAMETERS ACCORDINGLY, CAUSED SOME CONSTERNATION IN ALLIED CAUSUS, AND NOTO HEADS OF DELS EXPRSSSED MISGIVINGS ABOUT DUTCH IEDA ON BOTH TACTICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE GROUNDS. CONSENSUS WAS THAT PROPOSAL SHOULD RE REVIEWED FURHTER IN ALLIED CAUCUS IN LIGHT OF NATO MILITARY DATA ON NUMBERS OF MANEUVERS. MILITARY SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCSSSION OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS UNDER OTHER AUSPICIES IN EUROPE (HELSINKI BLUE BOOK, PARAS 22 AND 24). SOVIETS ARIED OBSCURE DOCTRINAL DIFFICULTIEW WITH PORTIONS OF TEXT DEALING WITH GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT SECRUITY AND DETENT, WITH RESULT THAT COMMITTEE FAILED TO MAEK THE HEADWAY THAT HAD BEEN HOPED FOR EARLIER. HOWEVER, DISCUSSION WILL CONTINUE NEXT WEEK WITH FOCUS ON PARAGRAPH OF MOST PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANE, THOUGH WHICH NEUTRALS SEEK RECOGNIZED INTEREST IN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS IN WHICH THEY DO NOT PARTICIPATE, AND SOME PROGRESS MAY BE POSSIBLE.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--MAJOR ADVANCE WAS ANNOUNCEMENT OF A PROVATE AGREEMENT BEWTEEN ROMANIA
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AND USSR ON A FORMULA TO DEAL WITH THE "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE" ISSUE. LANGUAGE HAS NOT BEEN DISCUSSED FORMALLY BUT HAS TENTATIVE SUPPORT OF SEVERAL DELEGATIONS. IF AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED ON THIS ISSUE, IT COULD CLEAR THE WAY FOR RESOLUTION OF SEVERAL PENDING BASKET II PROBLEMS. INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION SUBCOMMITTEE ELIMINATED REMAINING BRACKETS IN ITS TEXT, AGREED ON THE SEQUENCE OF PARAGRAPHS, AND ASKED SECRETARIAT TO PRINT THE AGREED VERSION OF ITS FINAL DOCUMENT, THUS EFFECTIVELY COMPLETING THE WORK OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE. US DEL AWAITED REACTIONS FROM NATO CAUCUS TO PROPOSED CHANGED IN EC-9 DRAFT LANGUAGE FOR RECIPROCITY AND SAFEGUARD CLAUSES IN RESOLUTION ON TRADE OBSTACLES. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS SAY THEIR INTEREST IN LINKING MFN CLAUSE WITH RECIPROCITY HAS COOLED BECAUSE RECIPROCITY COULD BE CONSTRUED TO HAVE BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONNOTATIONS, AS IN US TRADE ACT.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 729

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 247

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AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY RABAT

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5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE

FOUND THE SOVIETS AS INFLEXIBLE ON THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT

IN SEVERAL INFORMAL SESSIONS AS THEY HAD BEEN PRE-

VIOUSLY IN FORMAL SESSION. NATO AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS

ARE IN THE PROVESS OF AGREEING ON A SMALL NUMBER

OF CLEARLY DELINEATED SUBSTANTIVE AND LINGUISTIC

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CHANGES WHICH WOULD BRING THE FRENCH AND RUSSIAN "ORIGINAL" LANGUAGE VERSIONS INTO ACCEPTABLE CONFORMITY. IF THIS EFFORT IS SUCCESSFUL, IT WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE SOVIETS EARLY NEXT WEEK AS AN ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR COMPROMISE ON THIS ISSUE. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE BEGAN THE WEEK BY AGREEING ON THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF TEXT ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. IT WAS UNABLE TO MOVE FURTHER BECAUSE OF AN IMPASSE OVER THE TREATMENT TO BE ACCORDED JOURNALISTS' TECHNICAL STAFF. INFORMAL SESSIONS IN INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE TO INFORMATION SUBHEADING FAILED EVEN TO IDENTIFY A TEXT WITH SUFFICIENT COMMON GROUND TO BEGIN DRAFTING. SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE "MENTALLY" REGISTERED A TEXT CALLING FOR STUDY OF IMPACT ON CULTURAL COOPERATION OF FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN TECHNICAL MEANS OF CULTURAL DISSEMINATION. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS WERE INTRIGUED BY REFERENCE TO ESTABLISHMENT OF FOREIGN READING ROOMS IN CULTURAL SECTION OF RECENT IPU DECLARATION, AS SOVIETS HERE HAVE CONSISTENTLY TAKEN POSITION THAT ANY REFERENCE TO THIS CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT IS "UNACCEPTABLE". EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE "MENTALLY" REGISTERED INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE COVERING ALL SPECIFIC MEASURES IN FIELD OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE. THIS IS THE FIRST "MINI-PREAMBLE" TO BE REGISTERED IN BASKET III. YUGOSLAVS RESERVED RIGHT TO PROPOSE ADDITIONAL SENTENCE ON EDUCATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES AFTER COMPLETION OF DISCUSSION ON THIS SEPARATE AND CONTROVERSIAL TOPIC.

6. MEDITERRANEAN--REGISTRATION OF A PARAGRAPH RELATING CSCE PRINCIPLE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA WAS DELAYED BY A PROCEDURAL DISPUTE OVER DIFFERENT LANGUAGE VERSIONS.

7. FOLLOW-UP--IMPASSE CONTINUED OVER PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFERENCE RESULTS AND CONTINUITY OF THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY CSCE. THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO INSIST ON A REFERENCE TO A NEW CONFERENCE OR CONFERENCES, AND WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS WERE UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSED TO THIS.
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8. COMMENT: THIS WAS THE FIRST WEEK CSCE HAS SEEN ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS SINCE CHRISTMAS RECESS.

RESOLUTION OF KEY SOVIET-ROMANIAN DIFFERENCES
OF THE ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL AND A BASKET
II REFERENCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE
OPENED THE WAY TO AGREEMENT ON TWO LONG-STANDING
PROBLEMS WHICH HAVE SLOWED WORK IN THESE SUBJECT
AREAS. INDSUTRAL COOPERATION BECAME SECOND SUB-
COMMITTEE (AFTER ENVIRONMENT) TO COMPLETE ITS WORK.
REGISTRATION OF THE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE
FOR EDUCATION BROUGHT THAT SUBCOMMITTEE CLOSER TO
COMPLETION OF ITS WORK AND PROVIDED THE FIRST OF
THE FOUR INTRODUCTORY PASSAGES WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED
FOR THE VARIOUS SECTIONS OF BASKET III. WHILE
THESE STEPS WERE ALL RELATED TO ITEMS WHICH HAVE
BEEN ON THE TABLE FOR SOME TIME, THEY WERE WIDELY
VIEWED AS AN INDICATION THAT CSCE COULD MOVE FORWARD
AT THE PACE WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED TO MEET THE CALENDER
WHICH MOST DELEGATES HERE NOW BELIEVE MOST LIKELY: A
STATE II CONCLUSION IN THE LATE SPRING FOR A STAGE
III SUMMIT IN EARLY SUMMER.

9. OBVIOUSLY ENCOURGED BY THE SLENDER IMPROVEMENT
IN CONFERENCE ATMPSHERE WHICH HAS BEEN FELT HERE
THIS WEEK, THE FINNS AND OTHER NEUTRALS DELEGATIONS
BEGAN SUGGESTING INFORMALLY THAT A WORKING GROUP ON
STAGE III SHOULD BE SET UP SOME TIME IN MARCH, WITH
A MANDATE TO DISCUSS THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FINAL
CSCE DOCUMENTS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE THIRD STAGE. CREATION
OF SUCH A WORKING GROUP CLEARLY BRING
PRESSURES FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AGREED TIME FRAME
FOR THE REMAINDER OF CSCE. THE NATO CAUCUS THUS TOOK
A CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IDEA, BUT APPEARED TO
BE UNWILLING TO FLATELY REFUSE THE FINNISH SUGGESTION.

10. MEANWHILE, THE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO MAINTAIN
THEIR TOUGH STANCE ON MILITARY SECURITY AND BASKET
III, AND GAVE NO HINTS THAT THIS WEEK'S PROGRESS WOULD
LEAD TO ANY NEW FLEXIBILITY ON THEIR PART. THIS WAS
NOTED ESPECIALLY BY THE UK DELEGATION,WHICH MADE CON-
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CERTED EFFORTS TO FIND SOLUTIONS TO SEVERAL OUT-
STANDING PROBLEMS ON THE EVE OF WILSON'S VISIT TO MOSCOW,
BUT FOUND NO GIVE IN SOVIETS POSITION. EVEN
THE MOST OPTIMISTIC DELEGATIONS HERE RECOGNIZED THAT A
CONTINUATION OF THIS ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF
THE SOVIETS COULD BRING A FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE
CSCE.

11. AT WEEK'S END THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SEPARATIST
DECLARATION RECALLED ANOTHER PROBLEM WHICH COULD COM-
PLICATE AND DELAY A CSCE CONCLUSION: THE TURKS HERE HAVE

INDICATED PREVIOUSLY THAT THEY MIGHT QUESTION
THE CREDENTIALS OF THE CYPRIOT DELEGATION IF THEY
CONCLUDED THAT IT WAS NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TURKISH
CYPRIOT COMMUNITY, AND THE GREEKS AND CYPRIOTS HAVE
STATED THEY WOULD BLOCK CONSENSUS ON STAGE II TEXTS
IF THERE IS NO PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF THE
CYPRUS PROBLEM. END COMMENT. DALE

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